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knowledge and command of the earth. Earlier discoveries of America were not effective because Europe was not ready for them, *i. e.*, did not feel any need (pp. 407–408).

The preliminary investigations for the history have evidently been thorough, the material has been well thought out, and then set down in a clear, succinct narrative. As the fourth volume comes in the period to which the author has confined his earlier critical investigation, it is likely to prove one of the most useful of the nine. The principles of method and interpretation which are advanced are interesting and suggestive; and scholars may certainly be glad that the author ventured to write "another Weltgeschichte".

ASA CURRIER TILTON.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. By Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. In four volumes. Volume I. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xii, 620.)

It is now nearly twenty years since late in 1887 Mr. Lea gave to the press his great History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. An institution whose history had for centuries been obscured by vituperation and apology had at last found scholarly treatment; and the work met a welcome from the world of scholars such as has greeted no other product of American historical research. The verdict has not been changed by the riper study of the last two decades. Within the last half-dozen years the book has been honored by translation into French, with an introduction by Paul Fredericq, the most fruitful European student of the Inquisition; and at this moment a German edition is in process of publication at the hands of Joseph Hansen, the foremost German scholar in this field of study.

But his History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages was only the lesser half of the great task which Mr. Lea had marked out for himself. For the second portion, too, as we learned from the introduction to that work, he had made large collections of material, and through it he hoped "in due time to continue the history to the end". Perhaps the best testimony to the fundamental quality of the American historian's studies is the fact that throughout these twenty years, eager as has been the research in neighboring fields, there has been no serious invasion of that territory which he was understood thus to have reserved for himself. The Belgian Fredericq has indeed been giving us volume after volume on the Inquisition's activity in the Netherlandish domains of the princes who were also the rulers of Spain; the Italian Amabile has illumined its work in their Neapolitan realm; the Spanish-American Medina has added to his history of the Peruvian Inquisition a similar study of the Chilean and in these last days one of the Mexican as well: the German Schäfer has even invaded the Spanish peninsula itself and published a considerable body of the Inquisition's records relative to its suppression of Protestantism in the sixteenth century; but none of these, not even the last, has found it wise to forestall that thoroughgoing investigation of the origin and development of the Spanish Inquisition which all have awaited from the pen of Mr. Lea.

It has seldom been the fortune of any scholar so to hold the whole learned world in anxious suspense. The Inquisition of Spain, even more than that of the Middle Ages, has for centuries been a subject of hot dispute. It has been more reviled by its foes and more lauded by its friends. It has touched more interests in more quarters of the globe. As to the share of Church and of State in its creation and in its control, as to the nature and the result of its activities, as to the numbers and the character of its victims, opinion has gone wide asunder. The old books of Limborch and of Llorente, valuable but never adequate, were long out of date. Those of later compilers, like Rule or Hoffmann, dealing with the Spanish Inquisition only as part of a larger theme and with no access to fresh sources, scarcely rose above the level of that flood of hysterical "exposures" which for centuries have darkened knowledge-at best only an offset to the reckless apologists, such as Joseph de Maistre. Even the better documented works of Spanish writers-the Historia Verdadera of Rodrigo, the Procedimientos de la Inquisicion of Melgares Marin—fell almost as sadly into the class of wholesale apology or that of wholesale abuse. The records of the Inquisition itself were at last open to research, but no scholar had yet grappled with them. What it meant thus to grapple with the unsifted records of four centuries of the proceedings of the busiest of Spanish courts may be guessed by those who know the verbosity and Schreibseligkeit of Spanish procedure. The scholar who in 1888 girded himself for the task was already in the sixties. At nearly the age at which our universities are proposing to retire their professors he entered on what to many a less virile worker might well have seemed a life-work. Born in 1825, he had passed his eightieth birthday before its completion freed him from his desk.

But, if with him a world of waiting readers may heave a sigh of glad relief, it is not because Mr. Lea has at any time left us in doubt as to his continued vigor. Chips from his workshop have been constantly in evidence. Already in 1890 his Chapters from the Religious History of Spain suggested the trend of the results of his study. In 1892 he dared to lay it aside while he brought out an enlarged edition of his Superstition and Force and edited for the press that interesting find, his Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary. In 1896 he startled us by the publication of a three-volume work, itself a monument of scholarship, on a subject wholly foreign to that on which we thought him busied—his History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences. Returning to the Spanish Inquisition, he offered us in 1901, as another byproduct of his research, his monograph on The Moriscos of Spain. In 1902 he found time to contribute to the Cambridge Modern History its

fresh and stimulating chapter on "The Eve of the Reformation." All this while, too, there was flowing from his pen a stream of lesser papers on themes as diverse as the interests of his scholarship and the demands upon his public spirit; and yet, before the beginning of 1906, his publishers could set us at rest by the announcement that the completed manuscript of the great *History of the Inquisition of Spain* is in their hands. Surely not even the generation which has witnessed the sustained energy of a Ranke and a Mommsen, and which still beholds a Goldwin Smith writing with all the verve of his youth at eighty-three, has seen a courage and an industry so defiant of age.

Mr. Lea's preface to the work is dated in October of 1905. The first of its four volumes, now before us, appeared in January. A second is due in July, and the third and fourth will follow at intervals of six months. The present volume includes two books—the first on the Inquisition's origin and establishment, the second on its relations with the State. In his opening chapter—"The Castilian Monarchy"—the author depicts in startling colors the political chaos which might well seem to Ferdinand and Isabella to demand the most desperate remedies; but he is far from accepting the view that the aim of the creators of the Inquisition was primarily political. This tendency "to regard the Inquisition as a political engine for the conversion of Spain from a medieval feudal monarchy to one of the modern absolute type" he declares an error (p. 28). "It was impossible that a king so far-seeing and politic as Ferdinand and a queen so pious as Isabella, when reducing to order the chaos which they found in Castile, should neglect the interest of the faith on which, according to medieval belief, all social order was based" (p. 34); and it was for the solution of "burning religious questions which, to sensitive piety, might seem even more urgent than protection to life and property"—to wit, the effective christianization of their Moorish and Jewish subjects-that they resorted to this extraordinary means. Nor will Mr. Lea admit for a moment the apology that "the hatred felt for Jews and Moors and heretics, in the Spain of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries," was due to any "inborn peculiarity of the race—a cosa de España which must be accepted as a fact and requires no explanation" (p. 35). On the contrary, he holds that "The influences under which human character can be modified, for good or for evil, are abundantly illustrated in the conversion of the Spaniards from the most tolerant to the most intolerant nation in Europe" (ibid.), and it is to the explanation of this profound change that he devotes the remaining chapters of this introductory book, dealing first with the policy of Church and of State toward the Jews and the Moors in Castile before and after their nominal conversion to Christianity and with the establishment of the Inquisition in that kingdom, and then taking up in turn for similar treatment Navarre and the realms which made up "the Crown of Aragon". Even in Castile, as will have been inferred from a passage already quoted, he counts Ferdinand not less responsible than Isabella; for, while he believes that vigorous lady to have been a queen in fact as well as in name, he has been led to the conviction that her share in the administration of her kingdom has been greatly exaggerated, and points out (p. 27) that "In the copious royal correspondence with the officials of the Inquisition the name of Isabella rarely appears. To those in Castile as in Aragon Ferdinand mostly writes in the first person singular."

In the second book, that on the Inquisition's relations with the State, the five chapters treat successively its relation with the Crown, its "super-eminence", its privileges and exemptions, the conflicting jurisdictions which vexed it, and the popular hostility from which it always suffered—a hostility which, as Mr. Lea hastens to assure us, was in no wise due to its religious persecution, but only to "its abuse of its privileges in matters wholly apart from its functions as the guardian of the faith" (p. 539). Appended to the volume are useful lists of the inquisitorial tribunals and of the Inquisitors-General, a brief essay on Spanish coinage which will be of service to many besides the students of the Inquisition, and nearly a score of precious documents hitherto unpublished.

In style and treatment the book shows to the full the qualities so long familiar in Mr. Lea's work-the same wealth of detail, the same direct dependence on the sources, the same avoidance of polemics and of all rhetorical amplification. It is everywhere the work of one who still believes that the history of jurisprudence is the history of civilization. And if, as usual, he seldom stops to moralize, the moral which he long ago told us no serious historical work should lack is none the less clear in all he shows us of the daily operation of a tribunal of which, as he suggests in his preface, "the real importance is to be sought, not so much in the awful solemnities of the auto de fe, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed on the Spanish intellect—in the resolute conservatism with which it held the nation in the medieval groove and unfitted it for the exercise of rational liberty when the nineteenth century brought in the inevitable Revolution."

GEORGE L. BURR.

Mary Queen of Scots, her Environment and Tragedy: a Biography. By T. F. Henderson. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xii, 353; viii, 355–690.)

Mr. Henderson has added this contribution to Marian literature because he believes that recent monographs and concise biographies render a work desirable which deals in a somewhat detailed and critical fashion with the main episodes in her entire career. He writes with especial reference to the publications of Fleming, Pollen, Lang, and Hume, and his book is both a narrative biography and a critical study.